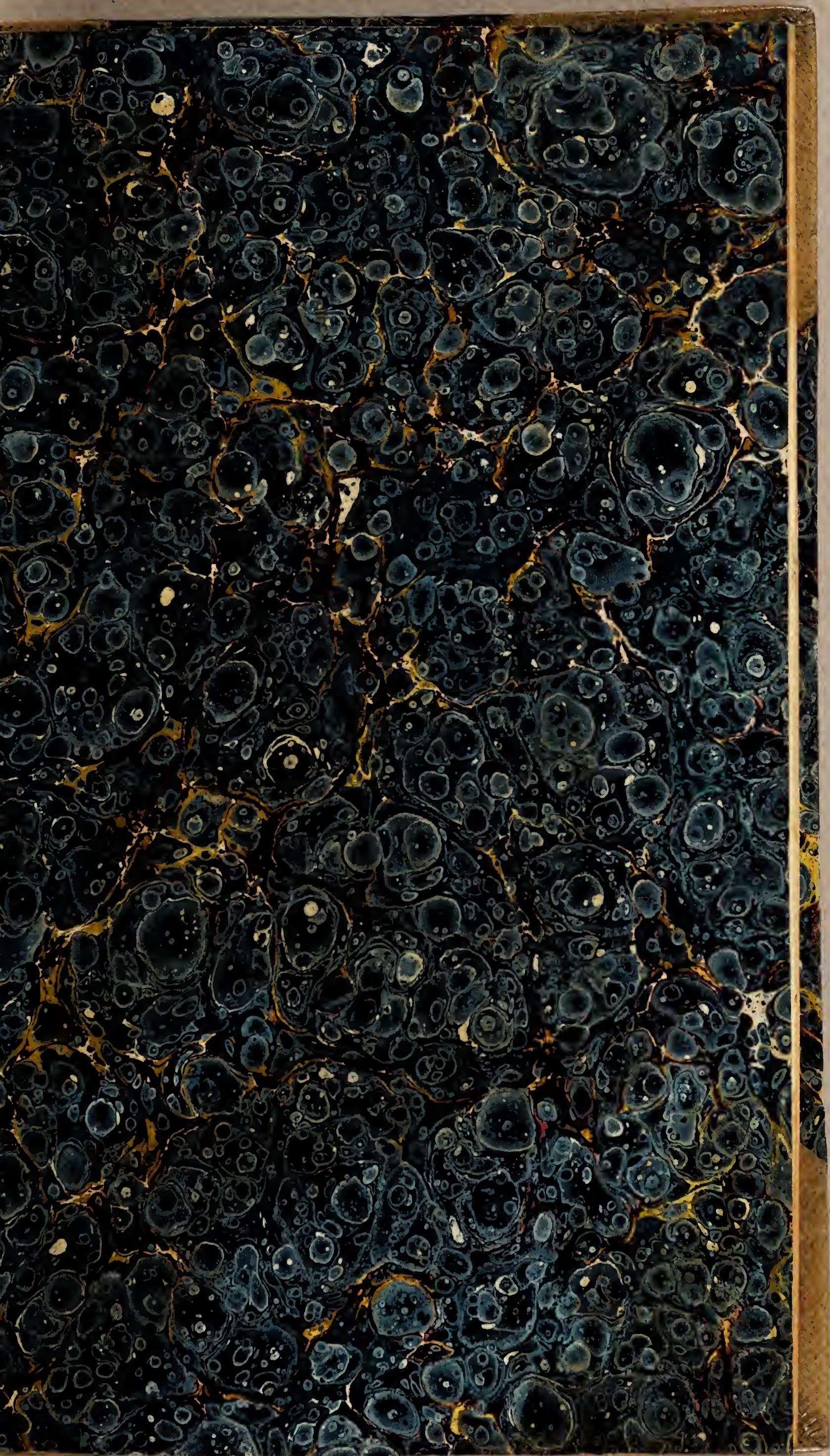


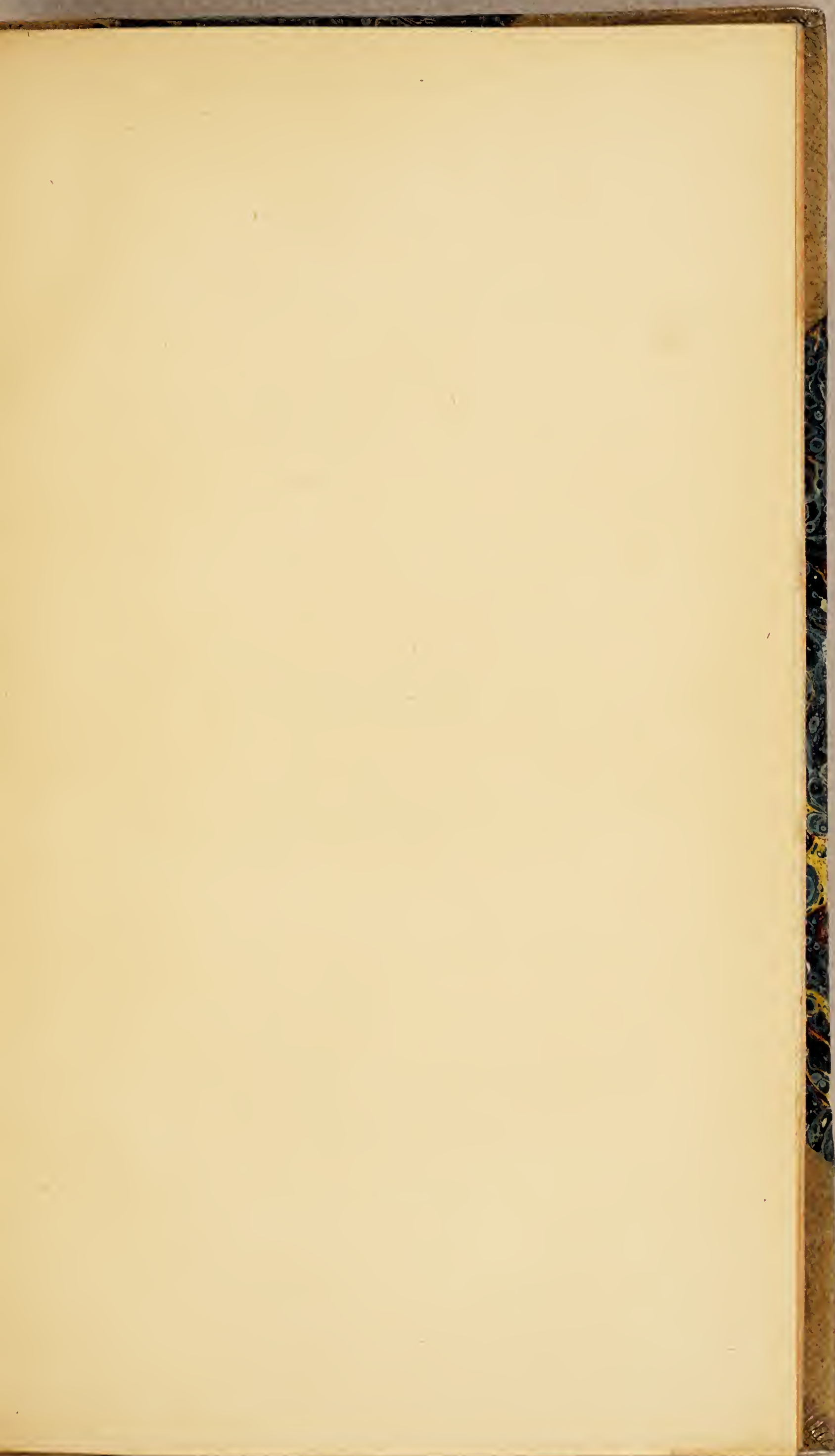




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R E M A R K S

U P O N T H E

HISTORICAL MEMORIAL.

PUBLISHED BY THE

C O U R T o f F R A N C E.



[Price ONE SHILLING]

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OFFICE

REMARKS
UPON THE
HISTORICAL MEMORIAL
PUBLISHED BY THE
COURT of FRANCE.

In a LETTER to the
EARL TEMPLE.



L O N D O N:

Printed for G. WOODFALL, at Charing-Cross, and
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Э. П. А. М. Я.

1874-1875

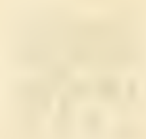
Историческое общество

Сборник

Содержание

1874-1875

И. П. А. М. Я.



1874-1875

Историческое общество

ВРЛО

R E M A R K S

V P O N T H E

HISTORICAL MEMORIAL, &c.

My LORD,

U R Conjectures with Regard to
O the Merits of the late displaced
Minister, have been for some
Time without Candour, because with-
out Foundation. His Skill in the con-
ducting our Warlike Operations, might
have been wholly attributed to Chance;
his Merit as a Negotiator was entirely
unknown, a Minister who excells in
B this

this Respect, must owe all his Greatness to himself alone, and though Combinations or Party, should obstruct his Success, yet may he arrogate Praise from every candid and reasoning Enquirer.

At length, the great Impatience of the Public, with regard to Mr. Pitt's late Negotiations with France is gratified. We have now before us, *an Historical Memorial of the Negotiation of France and England, from the 26th of March 1761, to the 20th of September, of the same Year, with the Vouchers, Published by Authority at Paris, and since translated here.* This Publication considered in its proper Light; will determine the Disputes that have for some Time divided the Nation, and serve to shew with what Wisdom our Councils were directed, with what Justice supported, and with what Spirit and Magnanimity defended.

And

And yet it appears a little extraordinary, that France should itself be first to publish Transactions, which in the End can only tend to restore that Unanimity amongst us. That she, who alone can expect any Emolument from our Dissensions should thus labour at our mutual Reconciliation ; yet so it is, and while she endeavours to throw the Odium upon us before the Tribunal of Europe, she in fact, will be found to blacken her own Designs, before every unprejudiced Court abroad, and elucidate the Honesty, and Skill of that Minister, who conducted our Councils at home.

To consider this Subject in its proper Light, little else is requisite than Candour, and Common-sense ; let us not give France hard Measure because an Enemy, nor shut our Ears to the Voice of Reason with illiberal Prejudice ; let us neither side with our late resigning Minister ; nor yet obstinately impeach his Conduct,
 until

until we have considered the Tenour of the Work before us ; for my own Part, I have undertaken this dispassionate Disquisition, merely from a regard to Truth, unprejudiced by Party, and despising the Shout of the Vulgar. If with the Intentions of an honest Man, I can set one honest Man right, my End will be sufficiently answered ; if I can at once display before the Tribunal of Impartiality, the Justice of the Present War, and the Wisdom with which it was conducted, I shall think my Labour not ill bestowed : if I can shew first, that we act with Justice as a Nation, and that Mr. Pitt has acted with proper Spirit as a Minister. The French shall be brought to give Evidence in the present Controversy against themselves, this Collection of Memorials is their own Publication, and from this alone my Reasonings shall be deduced. Out of thy own Mouth will I convince thee thou false Prophet.

The

The Motives to the present war, one might have thought, were by this time sufficiently explained, and thoroughly understood. The dissentions at the back of our colonies with the French had been allowed by them in more than one former memorial to have produced this continuing calamity. They, in their former memorials were content with branding us as aggressors, and as men willing to encroach upon their territories in America; this was denied by us, and, in turn, we threw the commencement of hostilities upon them; which might then be right is not now the business to determine. But now, in the present Memorial, the French Court, it seems, has found a new Pretext for the War.

“ If the Court of London, says the
 “ Memorialist, had no other Design than
 “ to establish the respective possessions of
 “ the two Crowns in North America upon
 a firm,

“ firm footing, she would have endea-
 “ voured to obviate, as France has done,
 “ every incident which might engage the
 “ Powers of the Continent of Europe
 “ to take part in a War which is abso-
 “ lutely foreign to them, and which in
 “ fact, having no other object but what
 “ relates to the limits of Acadia and Ca-
 “ nada, could not last long, and did not
 “ require the interposition of any other
 “ Power. But England had more ex-
 “ tensive views : she endeavoured to
 “ raise a general War against France,
 “ and hoped to renew the famous League
 “ which was formed against Lewis XIV.
 “ upon the Accession of Philip V. to the
 “ Throne of Spain ; and to persuade all the
 “ Courts of Europe, that they were as
 “ much interested in the Limits of Aca-
 “ dia, as in the succession of Charles II.”

Thus we find, according to this new
 Declaration, the Cause of our conti-
 nuing the War now, to be, not to sup-
 port our Colonies, but to raise an uni-
 versal

verfal League againſt France. Yet it is remarkable enough, that this Memorial, addreſſed to the Powers of Europe, firſt comes from France herſelf. With what Deſign can ſuch a Piece be publiſhed, unleſs to raiſe that general Reſentment againſt us which they reproach us for endeavouring to excite againſt them? This they evidently endeavour to do in the preſent Caſe, for did they only deſire, as they pretend, to reſtrain their enemies within due Limits, and induce other Powers to regard the differences reſpecting America, with the moſt impartial Neutrality, where would be the Neceſſity of this Publication? If they deſign not to intereſt other Powers in this quarrel, where is the neceſſity of appealing to other Powers in the preſent Caſe?

But the French ſeldom do any thing of this kind without proper Motives. They now find our Superiority, and are
endea-

endeavouring to throw the Odium of the present War upon us by this Publication.

Nay even the War carried on between the troops of the Electorate of Hanover and those of France are modestly ascribed to our Machinations, as if a small Electorate would be induced to engage, without any one motive, to attack a powerful kingdom, a kingdom by which she had a moral certainty of being over-run, and, as the Event shewed, she must in time be obliged to submit to. Hanover would undoubtedly have chosen to remain unmolested in a Contest where much was to be lost, and nothing gained; and if it entered into any Alliances with Prussia it was merely from Fear of an unjust Invasion which it was unable to oppose. Yet the French Memorialist pretends to say that the War of France with England had nothing in the Beginning in common with the War
in

in Germany. Nothing in the Beginning indeed it ought to have : nothing the English could have wished it to have: but France knew the only way to attack us, with any Probability of Success, must have been by a Land War, and to this they could only draw us by an open and unprovok'd Invasion of those whom, by every Treaty, we thought ourselves bound to defend.

Thus it may be easily seen who were willing to make the present War a general one, France or we. On the continent we had nothing to gain, at Sea they had all to lose. It was but natural to desire a Removal from that Element where they confessed both our Superior Courage, numbers, and Skill. The French indeed, in 1757, proposed a Neutrality to Hanover, but such a Neutrality as was only another name for absolute Submission. A Passage for their Troops through those Territories was demanded, and, and none but conquered Nations would, in such Circumstances, think it

C

proper

proper to comply. Yet it is worth Consideration to observe with what Moderation the French Court talks of their carrying on a War in Germany purely necessary. The French King has, says the Memorialist, afforded no further Succour of Troops to his Allies to enable them to carry on their War in particular, but only undertaken to preserve the Places on, the Lower Rhine for the Empress Queen which were acquired by Conquest from the King of Prussia, in the Name of her Imperial Majesty. *Quod potuit ausus est.* He gave them all the Succours he could.

But to what Subterfuges will not a People fly who endeavour to support improbability : they would endeavour to tax us as willing to continue the War : whatever our Inclinations may be in this respect, it is very evident that they are heartily tired of it : Nor is it to be wondered at, that Men should be displeased with a Contest which has hitherto proved unsuccessful.

cessful. Instead of being angry at the difficulties with which we seem to obstruct the way to Reconciliation, they ought rather to be amazed at our condescension in stooping to any Conditions so very mild as ours have been. Yet victorious as we were, the Overtures of Peace came from us. We, with our Ally the King of Prussia, made a pathetic and honest Declaration, in the Year 1759, which was transmitted to the Ministers of France, Vienna, and Russia, to this Effect :

“ Their Britannic and Prussian Majesties; touched with Compassion; when they reflect on the Evils which have been occasioned, and must still necessarily result from the War which has been kindled for some Years past, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly regardless of the Interest they take in the preservation and welfare of their respective

“ spective kingdoms and subjects, if they
 “ neglected to use proper Measures to-
 “ wards checking the Progress of this
 “ cruel Pestilence, and to contribute to-
 “ wards the re-establishment of public
 “ Tranquillity. It is with this view,
 “ and in order to ascertain the Sincerity
 “ of their Intentions in this respect, that
 “ their aforesaid Majesties have resolved
 “ to make the following Declaration :

“ That they are ready to send Pleni-
 “ potentiaries to any Place which shall be
 “ judged most convenient, in order to
 “ treat, in Conjunction, concerning a ge-
 “ neral and firm peace, with those whom
 “ the Belligerent Powers shall think
 “ proper to authorize on their side, to-
 “ wards the Accomplishment of so salu-
 “ tary an end.”

To this the Courts of France and her
 Allies, after a Delay of some Months,
 thought proper to return an haughty and
 evasive

evasive Answer. They complained that no mention was made either of Sweden or the King of Poland, and that no treaty could be undertaken without their accession. But the King of France offered a Readiness to enter into a Treaty of Peace with England, so far as it regarded himself, through the good Offices of the king of Spain. Thus we see that the King of Spain, with whom we ourselves had at that time Disputes, was thought proper to be the Mediator.

This Trick France has frequently practised to break off Treaties, by inviting some third Party to mediate a Peace, which was itself interested in the Dispute. The War therefore was still continued on our Side with our usual vigour, and usual Success. New Fleets were built; new invasions upon the Coasts of France were threatened; while they felt all the miseries of Famine, and Poverty. In this Situation, a Suspension of Arms seemed

seemed to them of the highest moment ; and with this View, they attempted, under the colour of a new treaty, to breath at least a while from their labours, and prepare for a new Exertion of their Strength.

An Offer was made of a Congress at Augsburgh, and accepted by the English with the Powers in Alliance. The Acceptance however of this Proposal had not the intended effect : It produced no Suspension of Arms, or, to use the words of the Memorialist, who conceals these truths with all the Sophistry of Art, the Declaration of France, which concerned all the Allies in general, was not sufficient to put a stop to the Miseries of War, so *speedily* as France could have wish'd.

A Suspension of Arms being thus despaired of ; to answer the present Occasion, another Scheme was thought requisite, and this was no other than to pretend

tend a separate Treaty between France and England, and thus retard at least the Vigour of our Operations, and excite a Distrust in our Allies. By adhering to certain Points, the French Court well knew, that tho' they offered a concession of all the rest, yet this alone would be a sufficient Reason ultimately to break off the Treaty. In such a Case their Offers, they were sensible, would be construed by Europe as the Result of Candour, and by seeming to espouse the Interests of Spain in the Treaty, there might be a Possibility of bringing over that Power to espouse their Quarrel. With this View a new, but separate Negotiation was proposed, and a Memorial presented by the Court of France replete, with the most ardent professions of Sincerity, and unreserved Reconciliation. It was to this Purpose. “The Most Christian
 “King wishes that the separate Peace
 “of France with England could be
 “united with the general Peace of Europe,

“ rope, which his Majesty most sincerely
 “ desires to establish ; but as the Nature
 “ of the Objects which have occasioned
 “ the War between France and England,
 “ is totally foreign from the Disputes in
 “ Germany, his Most Christian Majesty
 “ has thought it Necessary to agree with
 “ his Britannic Majesty on the principal
 “ Articles which may form the Basis of
 “ their separate Negotiations, in order to
 “ accelerate, as much as possible, the ge-
 “ neral Conclusion of a Peace.

“ The best Method to accomplish the
 “ End proposed, is to remove those Intri-
 “ cacies which might prove Obstacles to
 “ to its Success. In the business of Peace,
 “ the Disputes of Nations concerning
 “ their reciprocal Conquests, the different
 “ Opinions with respect to the Utility
 “ of particular Conquests, and the Com-
 “ pensations for Restitutions, generally
 “ form Matter of Embarrassment at a
 “ Negotiation of Peace. As it is natural
 for

“ for each Nation, with regard to these
 “ different Points, to endeavour the Ac-
 “ quisition of all possible Advantages,
 “ Interest and Distrust occasion Opposi-
 “ tions and produce Delays. To obviate
 “ these Inconveniencies, and to testify the
 “ sincerity of his Proceedings in the
 “ Course of the Negotiation of Peace
 “ with England, the Most Christian King
 “ proposes to agree with his Britannic
 “ Majesty, that, with respect to the par-
 “ ticular War of France and England,
 “ the two Crowns shall remain in Posses-
 “ sion of what they have conquered from
 “ each other, and that the Situation in
 “ which they shall stand on the 1st of
 “ September, in the Year 1761, in the
 “ East-Indies, on the 1st of July in the
 “ same Year, in the West-Indies and in
 “ Africa, and on the first of May follow-
 “ ing in Europe, shall be the Position
 “ which shall serve as a Basis to the
 “ treaty which may be negotiated be-
 “ tween the two Powers. Which shews

D

that

“ that the Most Christian King, in order
 “ to set an Example of Humanity, and to
 “ contribute to the re-establishment of
 “ the general Tranquillity, will make a
 “ Sacrifice of those Restitutions which
 “ he has a Right to claim, at the same
 “ Time that he will maintain those Ac-
 “ quisitions which he has gained from
 “ England during the Course of the
 “ War.

“ Nevertheless as his Britannic Ma-
 “ jesty may think that the Periods pro-
 “ posed of the 1st of September, July,
 “ and May, are either too near or too
 “ distant for the Interests of the British
 “ Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty
 “ may judge it proper to make Compens-
 “ sation for the Whole, or for Part of
 “ the reciprocal Conquests of the two
 “ Crowns, the Most Christian King will
 readily enter into Negotiation with his
 “ Britannic Majesty in relation to these
 “ two Objects, when he shall know his
 Sen-

“ Sentiments concerning them, the prin-
 “ cipal View of his Most Christian Ma-
 “ jesty, being to testify not only to Eng-
 “ land, but to the whole World, his sin-
 “ cere Disposition to remove all Impedi-
 “ ments which might defer the salutary
 “ Object of Peace.”

To this Memorial which seemed to be
 drawn up with a sincere Desire of Peace,
 our Court made an ingenuous Reply.
 To the following Effect:

“ The King of Great-Britain agrees
 “ in general to the Proposition which
 “ the Most Christian King has made
 “ with an Openness, in which his
 “ Britannic Majesty will concur through-
 “ out the Course of the Negotiation;
 “ that is to say, that, in relation to
 “ the particular War between Eng-
 “ land and France. 1. That the two
 “ Crowns shall remain in Possession of
 “ what they have conquered, one from
 “ the

“ the other. 2. That the Situation in
 “ which they shall stand at certain Pe-
 “ riods, shall be the Position to serve as
 “ a Basis for the Treaty which may be
 “ negociated between the two Powers.

“ With regard to the first Branch of
 “ the aforefaid Propofition, his Britan-
 “ nic Majesty takes Pleafure in doing
 “ Juftice to the Magnanimity of his
 “ Moft Christian Majesty, who, from
 “ Motives of Humanity, determines to
 “ facrifice to the Love of Peace, the
 “ Reftitution which he thinks he has a
 “ Right to claim, maintaining at the fame
 “ Time what he has conquered from
 “ England during the Courfe of the
 “ War.

“ With refpect to the fecond Head of
 “ the aforefaid Propofition, concerning
 “ the reciprocal Conquefts made by the
 “ two Crowns one upon another; that
 “ is to fay, That the Situation in which
 “ they

“ they shall stand at the respective Pe-
 “ riods assigned for the different Quarters
 “ of the Globe, shall serve as a Basis for the
 “ said Treaty, the King of Great-Britain
 “ again acknowledges with satisfaction the
 “ Candour which is manifested on the Part
 “ of his Most Christian Majesty in this
 “ Article by obviating, as he has done, the
 “ extreme Difficulties, and by anticipating
 “ the indispensable Objections, which
 “ could not but arise on such a Subject;
 “ it being in fact self-evident, that Ex-
 “ peditions at Sea requiring Preparations
 “ of long standing, and depending on
 “ Navigations which are uncertain, as
 “ well as on the Concurrence of Seasons,
 “ in Places which are often too distant
 “ for Orders relative to their Execution
 “ to be adapted to the common Vicissi-
 “ tudes of Negotiations, which for the
 “ most part are subject to Disappoint-
 “ ments and Delays, and are always fluc-
 “ tuating and precarious: from whence
 “ it necessarily results, that the Nature
 “ of

“ of such Operations is by no Means suf-
 “ ceptible, without Prejudice to the Party
 “ who employs them, of any other Epo-
 “ chas, than those which have Reference
 “ to the Day of signing the Treaty of
 “ Peace.

“ Nevertheless as this Consideration,
 “ as well as that which respects the Com-
 “ pensations (if such shall be found pro-
 “ per to be made between the two
 “ Crowns) on Account of their reciprocal
 “ Conquests, comprehend the most inte-
 “ resting and capital Articles of the Trea-
 “ ty, and as it is upon these two decisive
 “ Objects, that the Most Christian King
 “ voluntarily offers to enter into a Nego-
 “ ciation ; the King of Great-Britain, de-
 “ siring to concur effectually with the fa-
 “ vourable Dispositions of the Most
 “ Christian King, in order to remove all
 “ Impediments, which might defer the
 “ salutary Object of Peace, his Britannic
 “ Majesty declares that he is ready on his
 “ part

“ part to enter upon the proposed Nego-
 “ tiation with Speed and Sincerity. And
 “ more authentically to demonstrate to
 “ what Extent the Sincerity of his Con-
 “ duct proceeds, his Britannic Majesty
 “ declares farther, that he should be glad
 “ to see some Person at London sufficiently
 “ authoris’d, by a Power from the Most
 “ Christian King, to enter upon this Sub-
 “ ject with the British Ministers, in re-
 “ gard to the several Articles contained in
 “ the Letter of the D. de Choiseul of the
 “ 26th of March 1761, to the Secretary
 “ of State of his Britannic Majesty, which
 “ points are so essentially interesting to
 “ the two Powers.

“ By the Order, and in the Name of
 “ the King of Great-Britain my Master,

Signed W. Pitt.

Thus far both Courts seem’d sincere,
 no mediating Power was propos’d by
 France, and no Concerns but those of the
 two Crowns were propos’d to be transact-
 ed.

ed. One or two Memorials more passed between them, upon which it may only be remarked, that all the preliminary Demands of France, in which Ceremony, &c. was chiefly considered, were complied with. However, without any mean Condescensions on our Side, as at the Treaties in the late War. The Passports for the Ministers of each Nation being prepared, Mr. Busy came over to London invested with full power to treat with our Ministers upon the Business of the Peace, while Mr. Stanley was on the other hand sent over to Paris with the the same Quality, tho' probably not with such unlimited Authority. The wished for Suspension however by no means drew nigh, the English had put into Execution the Enterprize against Belisle, and to think of such a Suspension would at that Time have been improper. But at this the French Memorialist seems greatly displeased.

I cannot here without just Respect take Notice of the Conduct of our Patriot Minister : he continued to delay a definitive Answer till the Success of that Enterprize came to be known, and availed himself of any contingent Advantage that might happen during the Progress of the Treaty. An Expedition planned with such secrecy and at such an Expence, was not to be forfeited for an illusary Treaty, and even though the Time required by England for ratifying the Treaty, might have been a Month or even two Months, postponed, as the Memorialist complains, yet was there nothing in that, contrary to sound Policy and the Law of Nations.

England however, in the mean, shewed a sincere Desire of Peace, and in Pursuance of this Intention, only insisted on the two following Conditions.

E

1. That

“ 1. That every Thing which shall be
 “ happily adjusted between the two
 “ Crowns, in relation to their particular
 “ War, shall be made obligatory, final,
 “ and conclusive, independent of the Fate
 “ of the Negociation at Augsbourg, which
 “ is to compose and terminate the Dis-
 “ putes of Germany, and to re-establish a
 General Peace.

“ 2. That the said definitive Treaty of
 “ Peace between Great-Britain and France
 “ shall be concluded, signed and ratified,
 “ or preliminary Articles to that End, be-
 “ tween this and the first of August
 “ next.”

The first of these was, what France
 herself had at first demanded, yet the Me-
 morialist asserts, that it departed from the
 Letter and Spirit of the Memorial, for al-
 though France had proposed to treat of
 a Peace separately with England, never-
 theless

theless it was not the Intention of that Court to conclude a Peace with us, without providing for the Peace of all Germany. In fact says the Memorialist, the first Memorial from the Most Christian King, began with such an Observation to this Purpose. *The Most Christian King could wish that the Particular Peace of France with England should be united with the General Peace of Europe.* Is this Quotation candid? Alas nothing more so, for he has suppressed the Remainder, where the Memorial continues to observe, *but as such a Peace is become impracticable, if a separate one must be endeavoured at,* as the Reader will see by the Memorial quoted above.

Thus we see France sometimes desired a separate Peace, and at others insisted on having the Treaty include the Interests of Europe; but this inconsistent Conduct can easily be accounted for, only by observing that when they expected to stop
the

the vigour of our Arms, they offered equitable and separate Terms ; but when they despaired of succeeding in this Respect, they then attempted only to amuse us and the rest of Europe, by a feigned desire of Reconciliation.

The Negotiation however still went forward, and probably our Condescension to their Demands might at least have induced them to think seriously of Peace, when a new Interest was thought proper to be excited, and we were to be intimidated with no less than the Court of Spain. “ The King of France, says their
 “ Memorial to this purpose, will not disguise from his Majesty, that the Differences of Spain with England fill him
 “ with Apprehensions, and give him room
 “ to fear, that, if they are not adjusted,
 “ they will occasion a fresh War in Europe
 “ and America. The King of Spain has
 “ communicated to his Majesty the three
 “ Articles which remain to be discussed
 “ be-

“ between his Crown and the Crown of
 “ Britain : which are,

1. “ The Restitution of some Captures
 “ which have been made during the pre-
 “ sent War upon the Spanish Flag.

2. “ The Privilege for the Spanish na-
 “ tion to fish upon the Banks of New-
 “ foundland.

“ 3. The Demolition of the English
 “ Settlements made upon the Spanish
 “ Territories in the Bay of Honduras.

This Language indeed seems at first
 Flash only a sincere Expostulation in or-
 der to cut off the Root of any future Dif-
 ference ; but, if we examine it more mi-
 nutely, it will be found to contain a pro-
 posal to this Effect : As England is now at
 war with France, his Catholic Majesty
 finds this the very properest Time for
 settling those Differences that have long
 sub-

subsisted between England and Spain, he is under some Apprehensions that he shall be obliged to declare himself more openly unless redressed upon this Occasion, than which a fairer could not have offered: my Mediation upon this Occasion will probably be more sure of taking place, since my Indignation must be the Consequence of a Refusal." This Proposal, if regarded in this Light, and I don't see that it can bear any other Meaning, might well be resented with honest Indignation by a Minister, who, to use the Words of a Frenchman upon such an Occasion, did not chuse to treat of Peace as a Pedlar would of Bargains, but as a Man whose former Dealings bore the most evident Marks of Openness and Sincerity; as a Man who knew that the soonest Way of dispatching Business was to use Candour, and that he who deviates and turns thro' all the Labyrinth of Politics only takes the longest Way.

A Pro-

A Propofal of this nature was ftill the more irkfome as thefe Propofals had been often made by the Court of Spain before, and had as often been rejected. They were made at a Time when we had many and evident Caufes of quarrel upon more recent Injuries, and what was more, they could not in their own nature be complied with. Even among the moft patient in even the moft trifling Negotiation, an insolent and extravagant Demand, unexpectedly arifing, will ruffle the Temper: but what muft it have done in the prefent Cafe, where fuch an important Intereft was tranfacted, and on a Man warmed by an ardent Zeal. What, ask us to give up fuch important Concerns as thofe I have mentioned, only for being put in Security from what France can do againft us. That is furely purchasing the Friendfhip of France at a dear Rate, at a Time we are, I had almoft faid, have been benefited by her Enmity. Vigorous Meafures were certainly called for on
such

such an Occasion, especially when the Spanish Minister avowed the Proposal, and even insinuated a new Threat; to lay his Case before the Reader :

“ The Confidence which the King my
 “ Master reposed in France, gave that
 “ Court Room to testify to his Britan-
 “ nic Majesty the Sincerity of their In-
 “ tentions for the re-establishment of
 “ Peace, since, by proposing the gua-
 “ ranty of Spain, they expressed their
 “ sincere Desire of seeing the Interests
 “ of Spain settled at the same Time,
 “ which might one Day re-kindle the
 “ Flames of a new War, which at pre-
 “ sent they wish to extinguish.

“ If the Intentions of the Most Chri-
 “ stian King and the King my Master
 “ did not seem fraught with Sincerity, the
 “ King my Master flatters himself, that
 “ his Britannic Majesty will do him the
 “ Justice to consider his in that light,
 “ since

“ since, if they were founded on any
 “ other Principle, his Catholic Majesty
 “ giving full Scope to his Greatness,
 “ would have spoken from himself, and
 “ as became his Dignity.”

And sure our own Dignity, if we thought we had any to support, called upon us to repress such Insinuations with proper Resentment. And a proper Resentment was actually shewn ; a Resentment becoming a Patriot and a Minister, becoming a Person who first for many Years understood the Power of his Country, and who knew how to make that Power formidable to all its Enemies. But what was the Consequence of the Spirit shewn upon that Occasion I would willingly pass over in Silence ; that Honourable Community of which I am a Member are too sensible of the blow to give their feelings Utterance ?

F

But

But to proceed : Tho' this Offer of the Mediation of Spain helped to retard, it did not totally obstruct the Negotiation. It went on on our Side with an Openness which, on the other Side of the Water they were pleased to construe into Haughtiness and Severity. It is true Mr. Pitt insisted that France should *have no right* (n'ay pas droit : Our Translator strengthens Mr. Pitt's Expression beyond what it will bear, when he translates it, *shall not presume a Right*) of intermeddling in the Disputes between Great Britain and Spain, but this was only the Result of that Sincerity which has ever dictated his Councils, and guided them by the shortest Methods to Success.

The last proposals of France were however rejected, which was to the following effect.

I. France

1. France agrees to the cession of Canada, but asks two Years or eighteen Months for the Inhabitants of Canada to sell their Effects, and remove.

2. France yields up Canada with the limits assigned it by Vaudreuil; but insists that the Indians on one Side of the Line shall be independent under the Protection of France; and those on the other Side independent under the Protection of England. The English Traders shall not cross the Line; but the Indians shall be at liberty to trade with both Nations.

3. France will cede Senegal and Goree, provided England will guaranty to France her Settlements at Anamabou and Akra.

4. For the sake of Peace, France will demolish the New Works at Dunkirk, fill up the Basin which is capable of receiving Ships of the Line, and destroy the
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Rope-walks. The 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht relative to the Fishery shall be confirmed. The Island of Maquelon or Michelon shall be added to St. Peter's : a Guard of 50 Men shall be kept on those Islands to support the civil Magistrate, no foreign Ships, even English, shall be allowed to touch there : but an English Commissary may reside there.

5. The neutral Islands may be equally divided, provided St. Lucia be Part of the Share of France.

6. Belle - Isle with the artillery, &c. shall be restored to France. As also Guadalupe and Marigalante.

7. The Island of Minorca shall be restored to England, and Fort St. Philip, as at the time of taking the said Island and Fort.

8. France cannot evacuate the countries belonging to the Empress Queen.

9. The

9. This Article of assisting the German Allies requires Explanation.

10. The Demand of the Ships taken before War was declared, is so just, that France cannot depart from it.

11. When the Preliminaries are signed, the King of France will give it under his Hand, that he never intended to keep Ostend and Nieuport.

13. The two East-India Companies shall finish their Negotiations at the same Time that the Negotiation of the two Crowns is concluded.

14. This Article can admit of no Difficulty.

Such are the Propositions which France at length thought proper to consent to, and even these not without strange Equivocations. At first, for Instance, they
agreed

agreed to enter into a Negotiation, upon condition that each Country should keep their Conquests which were made at certain Times, but allowed that these Times should make the Matter of a Negotiation. In their second Proposal, instead of allowing the Times or Epochs to be negotiated, they insisted upon these they had first offered previous to entering upon any Treaty. As we sunk in our Demands they began to rise in theirs ; and even, at length, when we gave the most equitable Terms that could be offered by a victorious People, they still continued only to interrupt the Negotiation by unnecessary Cavils and insolent Demands.

But let us consider for a Moment the these last Terms offered by them, each separately. As to No. 1. in which they give up Canada, they still took proper Precautions that the People should remain in their former Religion, and consequently in their Attachment to their govern-

government ; thus wherever an Opportunity should offer, and their being still in Possession of Louisiana would afford such every Day, they might throw off the Mask of Obedience, and reclaim those Territories they had so solemnly forfeited before. This they have done at the Commencement of the War in Nova Scotia ; those French who had continued our Subjects since the Treaty of Utrecht, assisted their Countrymen against us, and what they did upon that Occasion they have ever been ready to perform.

Thus we see the sincere desire our Ministry had for Peace, in complying with an Article that left an Enemy still a Power to oppress us : but happily the Negotiation is interrupted, nor will they, it is to be hoped, for the Future meet even such favourable Terms as our Humanity at present inclined us to grant them.

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In the second Article France demands that the intermediate Indians should be neutral. When we consider the Spirit of their Missionaries, and with what earnestness they labour to convert those poor Savages from Idolatry to Superstition, we shall see how little Hopes we can ever entertain of expecting these wandering nations to remain neuter ; no doubt they would be more dangerous Neighbours than even the French themselves, being taught to possess all their Hatred, and all their own native Inhumanity.

In the third Article, France generously offers to give us up Senegal and Goree, which are already our own, provided we guaranty to them Anamabou and Akra, which also are our own. Their Generosity indeed deserves Admiration ; and we owe them many thanks for thus giving up what was not theirs to bestow. As for the fourth Article, we give them a
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positive advantage for a negative benefit.

In the fifth Place, they allow the neutral Islands may be equally divided, provided St. Lucia be part of the share of France. In the beginning of the Treaty they were content with a bare Partition, without specifying what Islands they desired for themselves.

Here they think proper to rise in their Demand, and ask an Island which is reckoned superior to all the rest to be placed in their Division, Conquerors indeed might make such Demands, but it is hoped we are yet reduced to no Necessity of complying.

Bellisle, being given in exchange for Minorca is at least an equivalent, however we are for the sake of Peace, content to throw them Guadaloupe, and Margalante into the Bargain.

In the tenth Proposition, the Demand of the Restitution of the Ships taken before the Declaration of War, is said to be so just that France cannot depart from it. This, this was their Fort before they entered into the Negotiation. Insisting on this they knew would set aside the Treaty at any Time. A Demand of this Nature, with which it would be dishonourable and unjust in us to comply, and with which we could not if we would, was at any Time sufficient to give them a Pretext of Disagreement. However, they were willing to throw the blame of interrupting the Negotiation, and refusing the proper Terms upon us, which they did by insisting on such Terms as were not in our Power to grant.

And now the World may judge which of the two Courts have shewn an Aversion to Peace during the Course of the
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Negotiation ; whether it be that Court, which from a principle of Candour, not by way of assuming an imperative tone, has always endeavoured to give open Answers, in order to shorten Delays, who, in the Conditions of Peace, so far from making an ill use of her Prosperity, has not even insisted on all those Rights which she was possessed of, and the Memorials of France gave her ; it belongs to all Europe to judge whether ours is the Court which has shewn an Aversion to Peace, or that, which after so many Variations and Delays on her part, arbitrarily continued to insist on Objects in America to which we have a right, and which would make a direct Attempt on the essential Rights of our Conquests of Canada which, in Germany, not only refused to give up her Conquests, gained over our Allies, as a just Compensation for the important Restitutions with which his Majesty was willing to accommodate France, but even pretended to impose an Obligation on his

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Majesty not to fulfill the Engagements of his Crown towards the King of Prussia ; which moreover, not satisfied with throwing so many insuperable Obstacles in the Way to Peace, has not scrupled to interpose new Perplexities in Opposition to this precious Blessing for which Nations sigh, by intermixing Matters foreign to the Negociation, and insulting to the Negotiators.

But I would now appeal to my own Countrymen, who have seen the Justice, the Spirit and Integrity, with which our late Great Minister has obviated all the Machinations of the Enemy ; ever watchful both of our Honour as well as our Right and Conquests ; how different does England appear in the present Treaty, from that in which she consented to send Hostages as Pledges for her Fidelity ; no longer crouching under the Rod of every neighbouring Power, or courting useless Alliances, we now seem sensible of our
Strength.

Strength, and nobly boast of our Integrity. The happy Moment to put an end to the Miseries of War is not yet arrived, but from the present Negotiation we may see, what our Expectations are, and what the Conquests that are like to continue our own. We now see of what Importance the Diversion we gave their Troops in Germany has been, from their Solitude in this Treaty to draw our Forces from thence. It is now apparent to Europe, that our Alliance is valuable, because it is certain and continuing, that no Hopes can induce us to give up a Friend, nor no Fears to court an Enemy ; it still contributes to raise our Pleasure, that though we are firm in our Alliance, yet their Interest is not preferred to our own, and that our Conquests shall not be given up for Depredations made upon them, tho' we endeavour to lend them every Help, we profess it not our Duty to share their Danger.

[46]

*O felices nimium bona si sua norint,
Anglicani !*

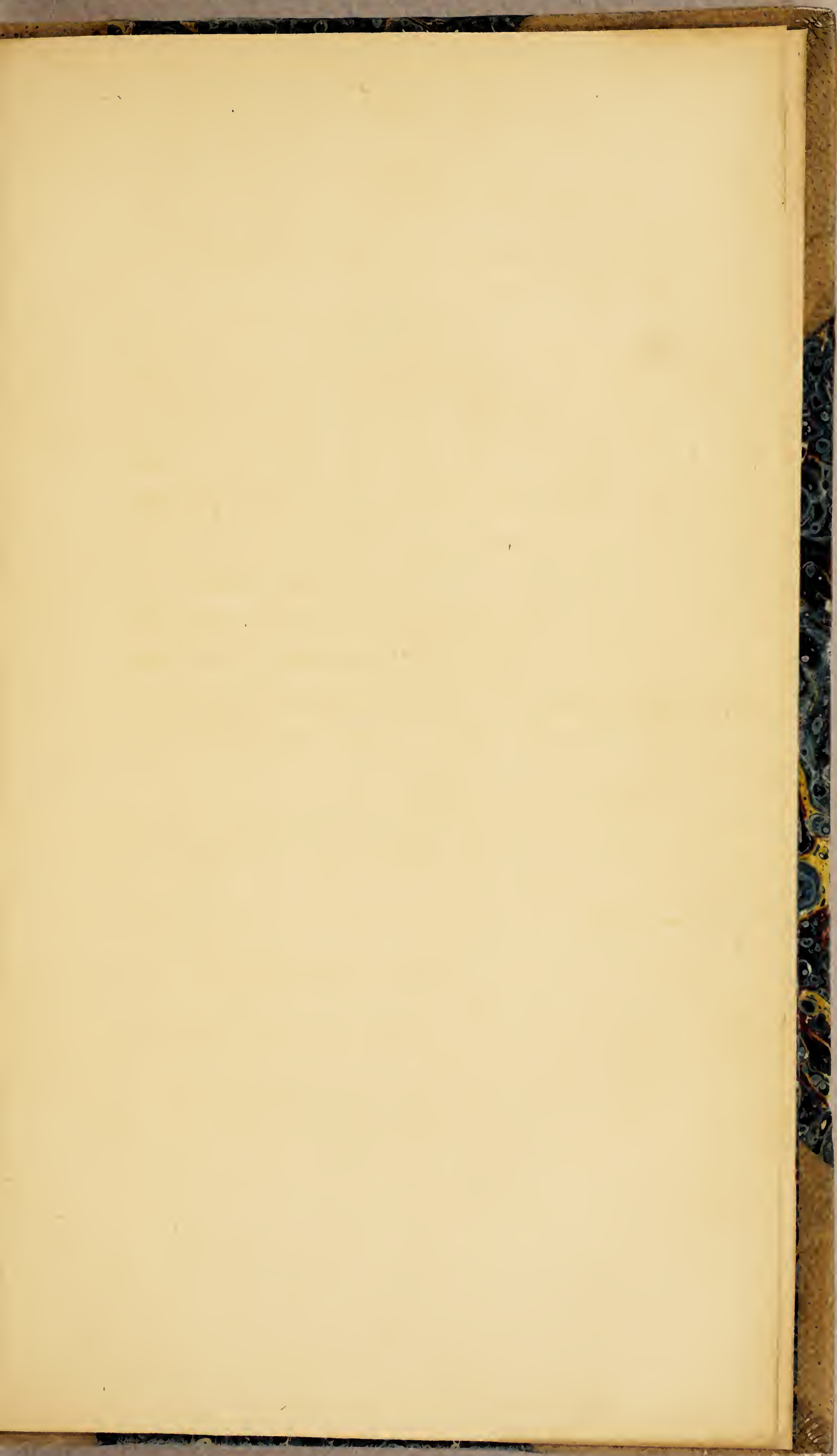
Let the late Enemies of our Great Minister hide their Heads, unless insensible of Shame. With what front can they reproach that Conduct, which even the Endeavours of his Enemies contributes to brighten. With what Conscience upbraid that Integrity which even the fallacious own, how presume to blacken that Spirit which delivered us from abject Capitulations abroad, and base Corruptions at home !

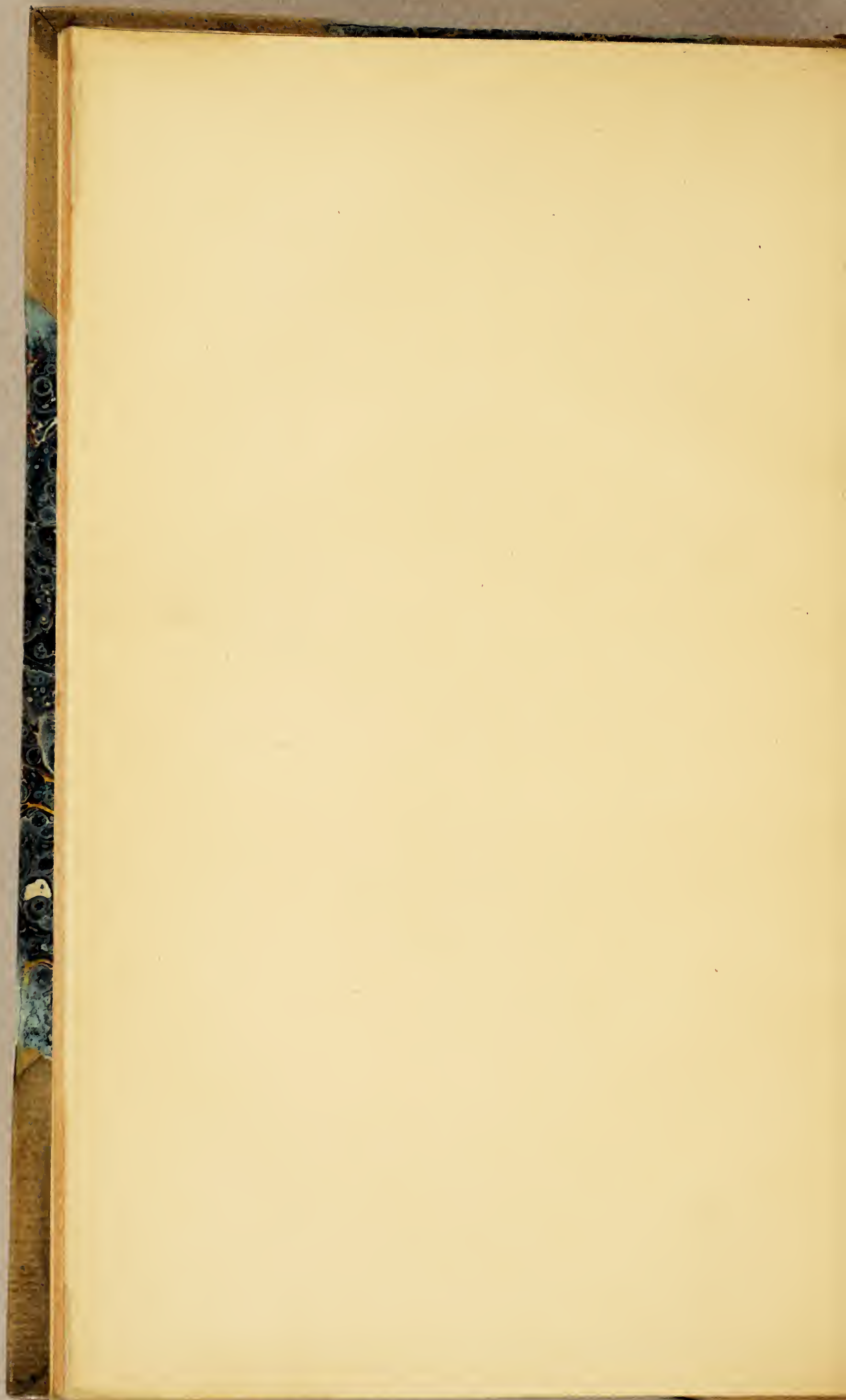
I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient,

Very humble Servant.





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